

RYBAT/PBSUCCESS

VIA: AIR

DISPATCH NO. HGG-A-794

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION

MAR 18 1954

TO : Lincoln

DATE:

FROM : Acting Chief of Station, Guatemala

INFO: Chief, WH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: GENERAL—

Operational

SPECIFIC—

KUGOWN Operational Report (Supplement)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reference - HGG-A-793

1. Immediately following completion of referenced operational report for the period ending 17 March 1954, we received additional information from Eliot P. RAZMARA which we deemed sufficiently important to warrant a supplementary report on developments relating to KUGOWN Task PT/1 (Essence).
2. Enclosed are eight informal memoranda prepared by RAZMARA on the basis of information submitted by ESSENCE. The first inclosure is a summary of the meeting between RAZMARA and ESSENCE; the remaining seven inclosures deal with specific problems as follows:
 2. The "Salama" problem and its influence on opposition morale.
 3. Radio programs and related problems. (We are attempting to confirm the claim that religious radio programs have been forbidden. Will follow up by cable.)
 4. Support materials - articles prepared by Lincoln for ESSENCE use.
 5. Recruitment of ESSENCE staff personnel (Note: the matter discussed in para. 3 of inclosure 5 was cabled to Lincoln for decision.)
 6. Routine expenses (paid by station; copies sent to Lincoln for information only.)
 7. Proposed safe house-office expenses (we have tentatively approved the total amount requested, but we are reserving final decision pending a study of security factors relating to the proposed safe house.)
 8. Rumored anti-government "complot" charges (cabled to Lincoln 18 March 1954).

Comments: (1) It will be noted that opposition morale appears to be of primary concern. We are doing everything possible to sustain interest, but we feel that Lincoln's comments and guidance would be helpful to us in view of greater knowledge regarding the total PBSUCCESS picture.

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- (2) Regarding the "Salama" problem, we feel it might be wise to channel some funds to the prisoners for food and medicine. Please cable your reaction.
- (3) Reply required on para. 4 of inclosure No. 4
3. With regard to inclosure No. 8 relating to the possibility of new "complot" charges by the government, in view of the remark that the government allegedly had the "complotistas" on the string (presumably under surveillance and control), we are taking every possible security precaution, particularly with regard to protection of ESSENCE and RAZMARA. (Note: the matter of new "complot" charges was previously reported by cable. See GUAT 218).

[J
George L Tranger.

Encl. as noted

19 March 1954

Distribution:

- 2 - Lincoln w/encl
- 2 - Washington w/encl
- 1 - Files w/encl

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17 March 1954

SUBJECT: Meeting Between Oscar H. CARTER and ALBERTO

1. A meeting took place between CARTER and ALBERTO on Wednesday 17 March 1954.

2. CARTER told ALBERTO that the most pressing problem he had to discuss was the "Problema Salamá" (see attachment from CARTER). The situation apparently is becoming ever more serious, and CARTER states that it seems to be the government's intention to shoot several of the prisoners - that in this direction, whether to instill more terror into the prisoners, or to break them down, one day recently all of the prisoners were marched out into the patio, rifles were cocked, all preparations as though the prisoners were to be shot, when at the last minute some one announced that there had arrived a reprieve for the moment due to some legal question, or other.

3. ALBERTO asked CARTER if he had heard any rumors concerning the government's announcement in a few days, of a new complot. CARTER said that such information had indeed arrived at the group, and has had a very disheartening effect - particularly since the question of the Salamá prisoners still hangs in the balance.

4. CARTER states that the combination of the above two items makes it ever more difficult to secure collaboration - those who are already helping wish to quit because they say they will just be left to the torture of the government's forces - the opposition will forget about them - and who knows when, if ever, help is coming from the outside.

5. CARTER wishes ALBERTO to bring it to outside attention, and states that it cannot be overemphasized, that the continuing delay, the complete silence about any positive action from outside is having a very, very negative effect on those people who are still willing to work actively. CARTER receives such complaints as why should so and so risk his life and face possible and probable torture - imprisonment for who knows how long - maybe forever for all the assurance they have that any action will take place to free them.

6. CARTER states he has sounded out at least twenty persons as possible replacements for him (in accordance with suggestion in [] letters) in the event he is removed from the scene. Not one of these persons has evidenced the slightest desire to accept such responsibilities as regards effort and time involved. CARTER says that even the person whose name was submitted several reports past will not consent to act much more than as contact for placing ALBERTO in touch with other persons in the event of necessity - this person has his business to attend to, etc.

7. CARTER points out the difficulty in securing the collaboration of [] cousin, even after [] wrote letters, offers were made to provide for the family and for the addressee, and he was to be removed ~~for~~ from all possible danger to self. If this man, with such guarantees hesitates to accept a little responsibility in ridding his country of Communists, how much more difficult is it to secure collaborators to whom no guarantees are - nor can be - made.

8. CARTER said that within the past couple of days even [] complained that he was sick and tired of all this propaganda work which he has been doing for the past five years - that he has been losing out on his university work - the government is cracking down - and who knows when and how it will all end.

9. CARTER states that reports indicate [] is to be given one year of imprisonment. The [] are discussing the possibility of going on strike in this event - but as of yet have reached no conclusion.

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10. Also in connection with [] CARTER says that the group has heard that the government is applying pressure on [] to make declarations against [] and CARTER. CARTER states he does not know in what direction such declarations would go since it is some time since he has had any direct dealings with [] CARTER says also that [] is reportedly sick in bed in prison and that they are trying to do what they can for []

11. CARTER states that the rumor or report concerning a forthcoming government charge of a new complot seems well founded in view of the stepped up pressure against all anti-Communist activities. The pressure against them is so great that almost all the group's activities have come to a halt, for the time being. The Imprenta Gutenberg does not want to handle any more "El Rebelde" issues unless all articles are signed for by responsible persons and the tone of the articles ~~is~~ tempered somewhat until government pressure eases, ~~somewhat~~. For this reason the issue of "El Rebelde" is being delayed. Nor can they secure anyone willing to collaborate in putting the paper content together presently. Everyone has excuses of too busy, etc.

12. On top of the above, the father of [] died this past week, and CARTER has had to take over the tasks done usually by []- further adding to the delay in "El Rebelde" appearance.

13. CARTER states that in any stepped up plans the group might have for expanding "El Rebelde" or the volume of propaganda output, it is always the same ones who have to shoulder the increased responsibilities. Even though the people receive the propaganda and are mentally ready for action from outside, this does not mean that it is any easier or even possible to encounter persons willing to accept the responsibilities of mixing actively in the group's work. CARTER has met with such responses as "so and so on your paper has liberal tendencies and I am not going to work with that type person", "I don't really care to work with a lot of people I don't know", etc.

14. CARTER wishes all the above to be kept in mind when those on the outside write that the newspaper should be expanded, that titles and sub-titles should be placed

in a more eye catching manner, that the group should secure the services of more people, that it should seek the advice and collaboration of newspaper personel, etc. The group is trying to adopt the suggestions as best they can, but it is not always possible to do so, at least quickly.

15. The ~~next~~ meeting between CARTER and ALBERTO is scheduled for Thursday 18 March.

[]

ALBERTO

Problema Salamá

One of the problems, certainly one of the most painful, which hangs constantly over our heads, is the problem or situation of our fellow companions in prison in Salamá.

This is a problem which, to my thinking, has not been given enough attention, nor have the advantages been taken of the many facets which it offers us for good propaganda.

I know that the situation, morale-wise (moral) as well as physical and economic, of the boys prisoned in Salamá is extremely difficult.

Many persons who previously collaborated with us have abandoned the struggle because of their fear of falling into like circumstances, and then being forgotten by those on the outside. I don't mean by this that nothing is being done for the prisoners of Salamá, but that to my thinking this is an item in our work to which more attention should be given. As I indicate in the note relative to "Radio", if we can succeed in making propaganda of each pass which occurs in this case, the people and our collaborators would see that our companions are not abandoned once they are rendered useless, and at the same time it would be a beneficial propaganda for our cause in view of the natural sympathy aroused in the people by political prisoners.

These prisoners, furthermore, barely succeed in paying for the food they are given, and rarely are they visited by their relative due to the distance, scarcity and bad condition of the means of transport.

A person who could take direct charge of this matter, including that of trying to hurry up the cause, would be very valuable.

.....

This week I had news that in recent days the notice was passed among the Salamá prisoners that they were going to be shot. A few days later they were taken into the patio, faced against the wall, and all preparations were made, in their presence and hearing, for the execution. Morale punishments such as this are constantly applied,

and because of the lack of interest on the part of the press, these incidents pass unknown by the general public.

CARTER

Spanish text
of Carter memo
sent to Hegarty 31 March
1954 for their exploitation

RADIO

The propaganda by means of radio programs encounters a basic problem in the scarcity of radio stations willing to lend themselves to collaboration after the series of threats to which they have been, and are, submitted openly by the Guardia Civil.

Almost the only radio station of any potency in transmission which we can count on is the Radio Internacional. This is the station broadcasting the CEUA program at night for a quarter of an hour - program which is well-listened to and commented on through-out the Republic.

Several days ago the director of Radio Internacional looked me up to tell me that through the radio technician of the Guardia Civil (a man named Reinoso) he had been told to stop broadcasting anti-Communist programs or expect the results.

Another news which has been verified from several sources: the transmission of all programs connected with religion has been forbidden.

At mid-day we have contracted with this same station a half hour, of which I have been thinking about leaving a quarter of an hour completely free of political characteristics, in order to be able to use it in case of emergency or in order to send signals and advice among our different groups.

The Comité Obrero (affiliated with the CEUA) and an independent group headed by C J have asked me for time "para pasar sendos programas de radio". This is being studied.

For the organization of a "programa de radio de fondo", I believe that it would be, literally, less of a problem than the publication of "El Rebelde", while at the same time it is a means of diffusion at the reach of many more persons, and because it being daily, at a regular hour, etc., fills its field much more with white propaganda than the other means used.

Going back to the problem of coercion to which we are submitted by the Guardia Civil, it is necessary to note a whistle of interference that the station of the GC imposes on our program at the hour when the program begins, and which ends at the termination of our program. The location

of this interference has been determined to be the garages of the Guardia Civil - furthermore, the very radio technician of the GC has confessed it among his friends of the same profession. This interference only makes our program unintelligible in the center of the city. Hoping to solve this problem, the director of the radio station sent letters of protest to the director of TGW (to confuse them), complaining about the interference. Naturally, nothing was gained by this.

With enough personal, sufficient material, we would be able to have interesting programs, reviving themes that have not been totally known by the Guatemalan public and which would be in many cases good propaganda - for example, the case of Salamá.

The presupuesto of the radio broadcast for the night program, quarter of an hour, is \$75.00.

For the half hour at mid-day, \$90.00.

For the programs of the Comité Obrero, a quarter of an hour is sufficient, and it would be preferable to place it on another radio station so as not to over-load the one. The presupuesto I think would be the same as the above - \$75.00.

In Quetzaltenango and in Antigua I am making arrangements for the anti-Communists units there to have their own radio programs.

I cannot enclose yet the presupuesto of the office for the formation of these programs as I do not have the personnel of confidence selected.

CARTER

RADIO.

La propaganda por medio de programas de radio encuentra un problema básico en la carestía de radio trasmisoras que quieran prestarse a colaborar después de la serie de amenazas a que han sido y son sometidas abiertamente por la Guardia Civil.

Casi la única radio difusora de cierta potencia de transmisión con que contamos es la Radio Internacional. En ésta radio difusora estamos pasando el programa del CEUA en la noche durante un cuarto de hora, programa que ya es muy escuchado y comentado por toda la República.

En días pasados me buscó el director de la Radio Internacional para decirme que por medio del radio técnico de la Guardia Civil, (un señor de apellido Reinoso) le habían mandado decir que dejara de pasar programas anticomunistas o de lo contrario se atuviera a las consecuencias.

Otra noticia que se ha logrado constatar su veracidad por varias fuentes es la de que: se ha prohibido la transmisión de todo programa conectado con la religión.

A medio día tenemos contratado en ésta misma difusora media hora de la cual he pensado dejar un cuarto de hora completamente ajeno a cualquier programa de carácter político, para poder ser usado en un caso de emergencia o para pasar consignas y avisos entre nuestros diferentes núcleos.

El Comité Obrero (afiliado al CEUA) y una agrupación independiente encabezada por **C** me han solicitado tiempo para pasar sendos programas de radio. Están en estudio.

Para la organización de un programa de radio de fondo, creo que habría, en la parte literaria, menos problema que para la publicación de El Rebelde, al mismo tiempo es un medio de difusión al alcance de muchas más personas y que por ser diario, de hora fija, etc. llena mucho más su campo con propaganda blanca que los otros medios usados.

Volviendo al problema de la coacción a que estamos sometidos de parte de la Guardia Civil hay que hacer notar, un pito de interferencia que la estación de la GC pone sobre nuestro programa a la hora en punto de empezar y lo retira al terminar el programa, el punto donde está instalado este interceptor ha sido exactamente localizado en los garages de la Guardia Civil, además el mismo radio técnico de la GC lo ha confesado ante amigos de la misma profesión. Esta interferencia solo hace inentendible nuestro programa en ~~en~~ el perímetro del centro de la ciudad. Con vistas a resolver nuestro problema se cursaron cartas de protesta del director de la difusora al director de la TGW (para despistar) habiéndole cargos por la interferencia que sus clientes le reclamaban, ya que el tiempo por él vendido caía completamente bajo la responsabilidad de la entidad que había contratado dicho tiempo, en éste caso ~~de~~ CEUA. Naturalmente nada se ha conseguido.

Contando con personal adecuado y con material suficiente podría-

RADIO-2

mos pasar interesantes programas reviviendo temas que no han sido totalmente conocidos por el pueblo de Guatemala y que serían, en muchos casos una buena propaganda; por ejemplo el caso de Salamá.

El presupuesto de la radio difusora es de Q.75.00 por el programa de la noche, un cuarto de hora diario.

Por la media hora de medio día Q.90.00.

Para los programas del Comité Obrero bastaría con un cuarto de hora y preferiría pasarlo en otra radio difusora para no recargar una sola. El presupuesto creo se podría ceñir a los anteriores. (Q.75.-)

En Quezaltenango y en la Antigua estoy haciendo arreglos para que las entidades anticomunistas de esos lugares ~~tendrán~~ puedan pasar un programa propio.

El presupuesto de oficina para la formación de éstos programas no puedo adjuntarlo por no tener aún el personal de confianza adecuado.

17 March 1954

1. In questioning CARTER as to the use, effectiveness, and desirability of the Spanish language materials (clippings, etc) which is passed along - CARTER stated that the material is very desirable, but that to date the group has not been able to take advantage of it as it deserves, because of lack of personnel, place to work, etc.

2. This is the main reason CARTER and ALBERTO hope that immediate approval will be forthcoming on the apartment safe-house expenditures and the secretary guarantee - that the group may be able to start adapting some of the suggestions and materials received from outside.

3. Concerning the editorials and articles written in Spanish and sent to CARTER - CARTER states that as of this date none have been used because they wish to save them for whenever the newspaper can begin incorporating some of the suggestions received. Also at present the difficulty is finding some one to accept responsibility for them for the Guardia Judicial - and even getting the imprenta to print them. At a time of pressure exerted by the government, even though someone has accepted responsibility, the imprenta will not print anything that is too harsh. Therefore, some of the articles should be suave to be used under pressure.

4. CARTER states that one feature which he considers very desirable, and which they can use to great advantage for the radio programs and the revised "El Rebelde" can be an international news service be secured for him, such as AP, UP, or one of the others? This can not come to him directly, he states, because of government interference - but a bundle of these news can be passed to him a couple of times a week in the same manner clippings, etc., are presently given him.

5. He would want the news dealing with international

Communist and anti-Communist matters. CARTER says such news, which the independent press will not print because of fear of the government, will serve as a stimulant for circulation and radio listeners. The news can deal with such items as a Canessa speech attacking Communism, Communists' activities or atrocities in various parts of the world, etc., etc. - none of which is presently given enough (if any) space in the press.

6. This will also serve to enliven the "El Rebelde" since presently it is nearly a total editorial newspaper, and with lack of collaborators the editorial writing has become a tremendous time- and effort-consumer. Also, the newspaper will have items of current interest not obtained in the other papers.

[]
A.

17 March 1954

SUBJECT: Office Staff for CARTER

1. CARTER states that he has encountered a great deal of difficulty in his search for a staff - particularly a secretary for typing, clipping, etc.

2. He has come across one girl who seems to fulfill the requirements as concerns security - however, the girl is now employed, and CARTER says he does not wish to ask her to quit her job and go to work for him, and then find that because of police crack-down, imprisonment, etc., or general circumstances, the girl be out of work in a week or a month.

3. May CARTER make a six month guarantee of salary to this girl (and other staff members if necessary) as have been done in the case of [] recruits? Since this will be at Guatemalan salary, the total sum involved should not be excessive - and it will enable CARTER to start his work sooner, as well as perhaps inspire more loyalty and security on the part of the employees. ←

4. Can you send me an answer this noon, ^(18 mar.) as CARTER is most anxious to start setting up some sort of office and staff.

[]
ALBERTO

17 March 1954

SUBJECT: Financial - CARTER Operational

1. Following are current expenses being met by
CARTER:

Malenkov Posters	[]
Two desks, one for the capital, one for Puerto Barrios	[]
Radio Obreros - (the Comité has met a part of this expense - and CARTER is paying only what they couldn't scrape together)	[]
Expenses for [] (meals, care of daughter, etc)	[]
Pegadores	[]
El Rebelde	[]
Trips outside the capital	[]
Radio Internacional	[]
Total	[]

[]
ALBERTO

17 March 1954

SUBJECT: Financial -CARTER Operation

1. The following expenses are in connection with the setting up of a safe-house office for the group

Apartment ([] - stairs and elevator)
includes cleaning []

Typewriters (used, but in good condition - one for the apartment safe-house - the other for the Tiquisate filial)
\$140.00 each

Two used desks - (for the apartment)

Two work tables (for drawing, copying, etc.)

Chairs, couch-sofa, etc.

Two supply cabinets

Typewriting table

Four work chairs

Total []

2. The above expenses have not been committed as yet - however, in view of the difficulty in securing safe-houses, the need for obtaining a place where CARTER can work with out being disturbed and with a staff, to put into operation the suggestions received from outside, it is urgently suggested that he be given permission to begin immediate work on the above.

[]
ALBERTO